The COMMONWEAL

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How Dumbarton Oaks Should Be Revised

LAST October, when the President made his statement concerning the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, he said: "These proposals have been made public to permit full discussion by the people of this country prior to the convening of a wider conference on this all-important subject." On a number of occasions it has been suggested that such discussion should take place. And yet there is little evidence that anything which might reasonably be called discussion is taking place prior to the San Francisco meeting on April 25. Rather we have been presented with an active campaign the purpose of which seems to be to persuade Americans that the Dumbarton Oaks scheme cannot be modified in any essential fashion, that it truly offers us a practical system of world organization for peace and human welfare and that the only alternative to it would be a return to a chaotic operation of rival national sovereignties.

We have repeatedly stated that if there is no possibility of securing anything better than the Dumbarton Oaks project, we are obliged to prefer it to nothing at all. But as the last week of April comes closer, we feel obliged briefly to indicate the aspects of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals which disturb us and which we believe are perilous for the future peace of the world. Americans should carefully consider them, for a great deal is at stake. And if the official State Department objection to modifications along the lines we suggest consists in telling us that other powers will not accede to them, then we believe that at least those other powers should be given an opportunity publicly and openly to refuse these modifications, so that we may see where the blame lies.

Chapter III of the "Proposals" is labeled "Membership." It reads as follows: "Membership of the organization should be open to all peace-loving states." This is the kind of weasel language which should not be permitted in any juridical document. That membership should be restricted to nations whose obligations command respect, or who live up to carefully defined standards, or who agree to carefully defined commitments is altogether proper. But the qualifying phrase "peace-loving" constitutes none of these things. Every nation will loudly proclaim that it is peace-loving; any nation another nation dislikes can with the greatest of ease be labeled not peace-loving. All that such a restriction on membership provides is an epithet substantially devoid of meaning to be hurled in controversy. The new international organization should be open to all states as soon as they measure up to a specific and judicially administrable standard.

In this same connection there is a most dangerous gap in the proposals as they have been presented to us. We find in them no reference of any sort to the status of African and Asiatic colonial possessions. Thus we are left to assume that in the new world organization probably half of the world's people will be represented only indirectly and by those whose interest lies in their exploitation. China is the only non-white power in the set-up, and the darker races of the world will certainly be asking themselves whether such an organization is just or to their advantage.

It is suggested in Chapter V, Section C, Paragraph 2, that "important decisions of the General Assembly . . . should be made by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting." Have we not suffered enough from two-thirds rules?

Chapter VI, Section B, Paragraph 4, declares that "all members of the Organization should obligate themselves to accept the decisions of the Security Council." Yet this Council cannot represent all the members, since it consists of five permanent seats for the Big Three plus France and China and six rotating non-permanent seats. Moreover, the voting procedure is such that its action will be completely dominated by the Big Three, or even by any one of the five permanent seat-holders. In the end this might mean the crassest sort of injustice and tyranny, and it is doubtful whether the membership has any moral right to obligate itself as is provided above.

The provision for amendment is ridiculously inelastic; this aspect of the proposals has already been much criticized, and most seriously of all demands revision. Amendment again could be

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blocked by any one of the permanent members of the Security Council.

Finally the composition of the Military Staff Committee—which "should be composed of the chiefs of staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives"—substantially hands over military dominance to the present big powers: a situation which for the time being is proper and acceptable, but which for the future may have the most serious consequences.

Philippine Independence

PAUL V. McNUTT was once High Commissioner of the Philippines but that is hardly enough to make his current suggestion of deferring independence for the Commonwealth sound palatable. All the difficulties he alleges in his recent interview reported by the Associated Press can be admitted. Funds in the Commonwealth treasury are undoubtedly low; ravages of the war call for extensive rehabilitation; economic prospects after independence are highly precarious. Yet the Commonwealth must attain full independence on the date set by act of Congress—July 4, 1946.

War in the Far East has demonstrated a number of things about the Filipinos. Unlike any other Eastern people they never stopped fighting the Japanese. They manifested beyond question great capacity for leadership and the firmest loyalty to the United States. Never has the bond of mutual affection and respect between American and Filipino been stronger than now at the moment of the islands' liberation. Peoples in all parts of the East are watching the Philippines, which may well serve as a model for the attainment of self-government by colonials. Filipino independence, security and prosperity can provide the only satisfactory reply to the Japanese propaganda slogan of "Asia for the Asiatics."

Unfortunately Mr. McNutt's statement is a symptom of the way a lot of Americans are thinking. Rehabilitation as they see it can only be American-conducted. And the islands' badly ravaged economy will go to the very bow-wows as soon as it ceases operating under the American flag. In this latter instance there can be no question that American sugar and other commercial interests were prime movers in the campaign to enact Philippine independence. They wanted competing Philippine products to be held off by tariff walls. But will the United States now allow such brave allies to become victims of our protective tariff policy? Are we to assume that our increased responsibility ends when the Commonwealth is independent or that we are unable effectively to collaborate with any outside nation in economic matters? The Filipinos have more than demonstrated their capacity for independence in this war; the American lives they have saved by their unconquerable resistance make our responsibility all the more demanding.

Where Management Is Really Efficient

ALTHOUGH his recent actions in the big-headline international field still remain cloaked in some obscurity, in domestic matters the President appears increasingly statesmanlike. His growing concern for the economic future of the nation is paramount. Witness his support of Bretton Woods, which by providing for international currency stabilization protects, among other things, our vital interest in the maintenance of the gold standard. His request for powers to cut American trade tariff rates by 50 percent in new and renewed Reciprocal Trade Agreements is based on the inescapable fact that full employment at home requires expanding trade overseas.

On the domestic side, the principal sector in the problem of assuring full employment, Mr. Roosevelt has now called for an inquiry into the annual wage plans which have proved so successful with a number of prominent American companies. Seasonal lay-offs by causing sudden losses in purchasing power immediately have an injurious effect on other industries. And public funds have to be utilized to provide sustenance on a much lower scale to the victims of this small-scale business cycle. When seasonal lay-offs happen to coincide with an economic slow-up already started, the depressionary effect can be catastrophic.

But there are even weightier reasons for the adoption of annual wage plans in our nation's industries generally. For instance, in Austin, Minn., home of the widely publicized Hormel plan, it has been found that the guarantee of an annual wage in the highly seasonal packing industry had a marked effect on the buying habits of the workers. Planning on the basis of an annual wage they have married earlier in life, built hundreds of new homes, had larger families and in general increased the prosperity of the whole community. An adequate annual wage is indeed one of the principal means of maintaining national purchasing power and full-scale employment.

The virtue of annual wage systems goes even further. Mr. Berle once pointed out that public assistance to victims of seasonal unemployment is in fact a government subsidy to industries indulging in seasonal lay-offs. Surely this practice manifests a lamentable degree of social irresponsibility. No worker who is the victim of such a practice can feel that he is a part of the company for which he serves as a tool only as long as the management has urgent need of his services. That is why company agreements with unions on annual wage plans are such a long stride toward the Christian ideal of true partnership and shared responsibility between capital and labor.

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Academic Approach

IT IS almost impossible to write what has to be written about Professor C. Rufus Morey without making it look as if Professor C. Rufus Morey were someone one would not like. Professor Morey is a very eminent scholar, an art historian, an eminent teacher; other scholars are grateful to him, his pupils are grateful to him, all the people who have read his books are grateful to him. Because he has done some very fine work for the Vatican Library, the Pope in Rome is grateful to him. It is also common knowledge in university circles that he is liked by everyone. So that the truth is that Professor Morey is a very fine figure. Very popular.

Then what is he doing on this page which is of course a sour page?

Here, it is necessary to go back a little into the files of THE COMMONWEAL. We had a theory. It was that the bombing of Europe should not be indiscriminate. We wanted as much to be saved in Europe as could be saved in Europe. As many lives, as many buildings. There had to be bombing because that was a way to save the lives of many of our soldiers, but this necessary bombing was subject to a great many considerations; it had to be directed intelligently in order to save the lives of our soldiers, but also intelligently in order to save everything else that could be saved. It had to be directed with the aim of saving everything that could be saved and not with the aim of saving the lives of our soldiers but of destroying everything that could be destroyed. We had a theory that it was better not to have Europe completely destroyed, and we had the conviction that this theory must be presented repeatedly.

We knew of course that we would be accused of meddling in military affairs but there were precedents for sending a memorandum from time to time to the military and anyway we had to be on record if nowhere else and indeed what happened is that we were on the record and nowhere else.

One day we were very pleased because we read somewhere that there was a Commission or Committee for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, and that Professor Morey was a Member of the Committee or the Commission. We said this is wonderful because artists are as good patriots as anyone else only it is true that they have special interests. We said we hope that all the artists, the archeologists, the art historians on this Commission will be a lot of cranks. There will be the man, we said, who will stick his finger in the dyke just to protect the seven kittens of his cat; there will be the man who will scream all over SHAEF just to protect one extremely minor painting in Santa Chiara in Naples because the eyes were blue when he was there on his first sabbatical with his wife and she had been very pleased because he had noticed the likeness; there will be the man who will write to the President just to protect a sarcophagus because his was the first communication to the Academy of Arts and Sciences to notice that everyone else had dated it wrong; there will be the man for France, the man for Germany, the man for Belgium and Holland. And of course, we said, the man for Italy will be Professor Morey.

All these people will make themselves terribly unpopular, but after all no one will put them in jail; it will be a bad moment but only for a season, and when the war is over if there are any governments left in Europe with any Ministry of Fine Arts with any cultural monuments left to take care of, the Members of this Commission will get all the credit for having saved the monuments and they all will be decorated and invited to lecture on the monuments they have saved.

So that one day we were very pleased but the next day we were not so pleased. Because the next day something we had written about these monuments, something we had written with the purpose of saving them, was brought (as they say, and they never say by whom) to the attention of Professor Morey and Professor Morey wrote to us. (THE COMMONWEAL March 10, 1944). He pointed out a number of things: that it was not likely that there would be much destruction in Italy; that his Committee would like to save what monuments it could but certainly not if the quickest road to Berlin passed through Italy over the monuments; certainly not if the generals said the monuments could not be saved; and that what we were saving in this war was the spirit that built the monuments because if it were saved it would build other monuments. Professor Morey wrote: "Nothing is so important as to win this war, and win it quickly, and no consideration or criticism has any point at present which is not aimed in that direction."

That was not the attitude we expected he would take. We thought that he would risk being unpopular for a while but that after the war he would be popular again and that everyone would like him and forget that he had fought outrageously, bitterly and narrowly, in the public press and with the generals, to save his monuments at a time when everyone else was willing to throw them out of the window—or else people would remember that he had done this and respect him the more.

He is an educator, and it is because this is a special "educational" issue that we think of him now—also because the Office of War Information announces his appointment in Rome. When the war is ended education will matter again; it is on vacation now.

C. G. PAULDING.

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The Future of the Small College

Its vocation in American life

Tyler Dennett

We asked Mr. Dennett to write about what he thinks of the future of the small American college because we have always liked his direct and deeply American approach to educational problems. As an historian, as Chief of Publications of the State Department, as President of Williams College and now as a distinguished private citizen of our Republic he has always been forthright and has always had something to say. Catholic educators will know how to adapt his judgments fruitfully.—THE EDITORS.

QUITE CERTAINLY the small colleges, all of them, have a future, for small colleges do not die. Some of them become big, as Harvard, Yale and Princeton once did, or as Dartmouth and Syracuse in more recent years. Others get smaller and yet linger on or, perhaps, merge with other colleges and continue only in a hyphenated name. Few of them are ever actually liquidated.

The small colleges are so diverse in character that they cannot all be lumped together for profitable discussion. This article is concerned only with the small college which is well established. It has had a distinguished history and a good deal of ivy on its walls, particularly on the walls erected in the post-Civil War period. It has at least a moderate endowment, yielding an income equal to a quarter or a half of its annual budget, and an enrollment of somewhat less than a thousand, perhaps not more than four or five hundred. After you have made a list of twenty-five of them you can, if you know the country pretty well, probably add another fifty or seventy-five names. Excluded from this discussion are some hundreds of other small colleges which do not fit within this description. Some of them are doing admirable work, and one ventures the guess that in each one could be found a few students who, if lifted out and set down on the campus of any of the colleges we are thinking of, would be immediately noted for their quality.

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I am touching only very briefly on the immediate effects of the war, the interruptions of the old programs to undertake special training for the armed forces, the dearth of students which may be expected in the interim before the resumption of normal conditions. The situation presents grave financial problems. There will be deficits which will have to be met by generous alumni and friends, and there will be debts at the bank. Fortunate will be the colleges which have had the foresight not to let their over-head expenses get out of hand. Maintenance charges go on about the same, even when the college is three-quarters empty, and faculties are not easily adjustable to such enrollments. Acute though this immediate problem is, it is surely only temporary, and one of finance. When the boys return there will be nothing less than a stampede toward the colleges. For a few years their facilities will be taxed to capacity and beyond. With prudent management the deficits will disappear quickly.

Problems other than financial will be considerable. The spread of the age-group in the classrooms will be wide. Probably many of the students will be married, and the presence on the campus of a lot of young wives may provide some administrative headaches. The returned GIs will be in a hurry, impatient and demanding. They will be looking for short-cuts where there are none and it will be very difficult to refuse these honored young men anything they want. The college year will have to be lengthened to forty-seven or eight weeks or supplemented with a summer term, all of which will play havoc with schedules. More disturbing, this will increase teaching-loads, especially in the smallest colleges of the group, to a point where students as well as instructors will suffer. Not much comes out of a dry sponge. A student can take forty-eight weeks without much distress or without encountering the law of diminishing returns, but an instructor cannot give that much for very long unless he drops to the level of mere drill-master. Drilling and teaching are not the same, although the laymen seem rarely ever able to grasp the meaning of the distinction. Faculties will have to be suddenly increased by short-time appointments which are usually not adequate. These are some of the immediate problems lying just ahead. Their importance is not to be minimized. On the other hand, there are far graver questions which have been only accentuated, not created by the war. The immediate problems would be greatly sim-

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plified if only the more fundamental ones were in the way of being solved. There is space here to mention only two, but on them seems to hinge the long future of the small college in the United States.

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The small colleges of which I am thinking have in the last generation been losing step with democracy. (The charge is much less true of the other, more recently established small colleges we have excluded from this discussion.) They have more and more been forced to limit their ministrations to an economically privileged few. Total costs in these colleges just before the war were ranging from a thousand dollars a year upward. By total costs I mean every charge from the day the undergraduate left home in September until he returned in June. Scholarship aid was available but only within limits. Scholarships seldom amounted to more than the tuition charge, which was not more than a third of the total cost of the year, and often this aid was split up into smaller amounts which were really only discounts on the term bill. Even this limited help rarely reached more than twenty percent of the students. The effect was that the tone of the campus was set by the eighty percent of the students who came from homes which could afford to spend four, five or more thousand dollars on the college education of one child. Those families, statistically, fall into a very small group of the American people; they are not representative.

In one other respect the students were selected in large part from a relatively small privileged group. The average tax-supported high school, responsive to the demands of the tax-payer and led by teachers college graduates more concerned with teaching techniques than with education, was more and more becoming vocational; it was thinking less and less of college preparation. Probably that was as it should be, but one effect was to be deplored. Whereas historically the small college drew most of its students directly from the high schools and old academies within a fairly short radius, that had become no longer the case. Many high school graduates, especially those who were not well advised to begin with, found themselves without the credits requisite for admission to the colleges which their parents had entered with ease, and others were so likely to be handicapped by poor high school instruction that they did not even venture to take the risk of entering. More likely they went to the state universities the aims of which, like those of the high schools, are vocational. A few years ago the small colleges were being very unfairly blamed for relaxing or abandoning the old classical curriculum. They had to make the change or still further lose contact with the high school. Today the boy who has the edge in the first two years of his college course is the one who was so fortunate as to be able to enter college from one of the private preparatory schools which specializes in college preparation. The costs in these schools equals or exceeds college costs. And these far better prepared and sophisticated young men, not necessarily with better minds, still further accentuated the atmosphere of the small college campus. Indeed, the college, in proportion as it held its standards of admission high, was finding it necessary to admit more and more very moderately endowed—but very well prepared students—to fill up the dormitories which might, with more profit to American life, have been occupied by their intellectual superiors.

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This, starkly stated, was the situation, and it will continue at least for a while unless frankly faced and corrected. The remedies are two. Tests for admission must be revised to reveal capacity rather than merely to show present achievement. The return of the young men from the armed forces will greatly accelerate this revision of tests which is already in progress. The other remedy, important even though it may never be adequate, is to reduce the costs in the small college. There are limits beyond which this cannot be done, but costs could be reduced by at least a fifth without touching faculty salaries. To reduce even by so little as two hundred dollars the costs of the college year would enormously widen the circle from which undergraduates can be drawn. There is almost that much water in one single item. The scale of living is inflated by an ornate and sometimes even vulgar social life sustained by those who can afford it, but almost required of many who cannot afford it. The small colleges of which I am thinking find this subject pretty hot to handle, but it will have to be met if these institutions are not some day to discover that they have become merely the vestigial organs of an educational system which went off and left them by the way. And if that day ever comes, American life also will have been deprived of some really valuable gifts which the small college once was able to make.

Again, the small college must reexamine its objectives in the light of its history. Is its primary purpose to prepare for the graduate school, or to prepare for something else? The answer to this question makes a difference both as to what is to be taught and how it is to be taught. It is a far broader question than mere tinkering with a curriculum.

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The proportion of college graduates who go on to graduate work seems to vary more or less

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with the condition of the white-collar labor market. When the jobs for newly graduated young men are scarce and the prospects dim, as in the depression, the graduate schools are flooded, especially by those who think that the teaching profession may turn out to be a better bet than business. In general, however, the college graduate does not continue his academic work after receiving his diploma. For years the writer has made it a point to ask parents why they were sending their children to college. The answers vary as might be expected but, aside from where a purely professional career has already been chosen, parents are likely to say that they wish their children to "round out their education" and to "prepare for life." It is notable that they rarely say that they wish their sons to become "scholars." Nor are most undergraduates, even the serious ones, consciously interested in scholarship as they come to find it being defined by their instructors. Nevertheless within the college the tendency is to define the objective in terms of graduate school standards. This is natural, for the faculties are for the most part graduates of the graduate schools who have passed directly into teaching and have little other experience. The instructor measures himself as well as his student by the standards of graduate school work and feels the greatest satisfaction when he can bring a student to the point where he is actually anticipating graduate school work while still an undergraduate. This situation in the college is not being imposed by the professional school, with some exceptions, and it is not uncommon to have the latter complain that the colleges are sending them students who have specialized too narrowly, and prematurely.

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Preparing for life is a vague phrase on the lips of most parents and most undergraduates and often, it is to be feared, means little more than acquiring sophistication and making profitable social contacts, but basically the phrase is sound. The primary purpose of the college is to prepare the student for living—for living in a very complex world where truth lies not on the surface and where values are badly obscured. The best that an undergraduate can hope to obtain in college is the ability to take apart human experience, his own and that of the race, and then to reassemble it honestly, and without having something left over which he failed to take into account. In short, the undergraduate is there to learn the difference between good and bad, between what is real and what is phoney. The objective is fundamentally ethical and spiritual. The method is mainly intellectual, though not exclusively so. What we wish for our young men is that they come to the point where they can recognize and define the good life, and acquire the courage fearlessly to measure themselves and the world by that standard. Again using the vernacular, we wish them to reach the point where they will stop kidding themselves. And if in the process the son passes the highest range of the parent's attainment, so much the better, for in this way does the race improve and refine itself.

I am not thinking of any watering down of the undergraduate curriculum and certainly not of any relaxing of the discipline and the self-discipline which are involved. Quite the contrary. With such a motive careless, sloppy work becomes not merely a low grade in the dean's office, but a crime committed by a man against himself. The change which is involved may turn out to be less in the introduction of new or broader subjects than in more attention to their content and meaning. Literature, for example, may be studied for its art forms, or it may be studied as the record of civilization, the refinements of human thought. The forms, though important, are, none the less, just forms which were designed merely for use as vehicles. What the vehicles carry is the paramount objective.

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The small college rendered its greatest service to American life in the period before it was secularized. The older alumni of the small college will have no difficulty in understanding what I mean. They will remember the atmosphere of the old campus. In the first place they, themselves, were aware that they were of a chosen few. Only a few of the boys went from high school, or, for that matter, from boarding school, to college. The prevailing opinion then was not that every boy ought to go to college; rather that college was for the few, for the most gifted. A college education for the boy involved, usually, a family sacrifice of which the son was well aware. I am thinking of the day when fifty dollars was still regarded as a large sum of money, when there was more family debate over the purchase of a new bicycle than there is now over trading in the old car. With something of a sense of destiny and of obligation, the boy went off to college, and very likely he went to the small one because it was not far away and the costs were low. On the campus the youth was quickly made aware of a prevailing sense of vocation in the faculty. This sense of vocation was essentially religious, often consciously so, for most of the older professors were in fact ordained clergymen who had elected to teach rather than preach. Their salaries were equated with those of the Church, and ranged round $1,500 a year. The simple living of the faculty households was eased with a garden, some chickens, a cow, perhaps a pig. PhD's were scarce in those days and usually were found among

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the young instructors who in faculty meetings did not even have a vote. Some of those old greybeards on the faculty may have known less about some of the details of their subjects than did their young assistants, but they knew a great deal more about living, about values. And, be it noted, many of the older men did know their subjects very well indeed; their books did more to shape American thought than most PhD theses ever will. It was a very thick-hided student in those days who continued for four years in such an atmosphere without coming both to feel and to appreciate it.

The small college of that day was making a great contribution to American life. As the newer states set up their new tax-supported universities, very often they went to the alumni lists of the small colleges for both faculties and presidents, while the still newer and smaller small colleges of the West rarely went elsewhere. It was much the same in the law and in medicine. The old congressional directories and government registers reveal again how far the small college extended its influence. One wonders whether there lies before the small college of today any future comparable with that great past.

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For the changed conditions in which the small college of the future must find its place the colleges themselves cannot fully be held responsible. They did not consciously lead in this maldistribution of wealth of which they are now both the beneficiaries and the victims, and their secularity is now but a reflection of a change in national life. Colleges are social institutions and as such they do not so much lead as reflect the life of which they are a part. In the days of which we have been thinking they were vital in those respects in which American life itself was most vital. The colleges have changed with the times and the change in the privately supported small college probably has been accelerated by the competition which it has encountered from the state universities which, in turn, must change not only with the times but even with each new change of the legislature. On the other hand, the traditional small college still has some insulation and, within limits, can set its own course. Far more than it has in the last quarter century, it can make itself accessible to the mass of the people, and with vastly more liberty than the tax-supported institution, it can capitalize from the idealism of the youth who will be asking for admission, and from the idealism, also, of not a few of its teachers who still have visions of what the good life in America, yes and in the world, might be.

Quite possibly the boys, soon to return from the battles, may make a very important contribution toward giving the small college a new and more confident sense of direction.

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Progress through Tradition

In memory of Mother Grace Cowardin Dammann, R.S.C.J.

Anna Hellersberg-Wendriner

SEVEN WEEKS ago, in the dim light of a wintry day, a procession of mourners moved from a little station near Philadelphia toward the cemetery of Eden Hall Convent of the Sacred Heart. Priests, nuns, students and professors in academic dress, young and old, representatives of the lay world, for the last time followed Mother Grace Dammann in the flesh. With exquisite singing in the chapel, with the Last Office for the dead, with the last rites at the grave, the final act in the life of a great American educator, of a greater human being came to a close. If the hearts of those present only in spirit, remembering her loving care, could have burned as candles over this peaceful resting place, their flames would have been able to warm the freezing breath of the field, and their light would have risen to Heaven like a prayer of thanksgiving. Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart in New York City had been blessed by her guidance for fifteen years.

Mother Dammann, born in Baltimore, Maryland, July 9, 1872, entered the Society of the Sacred Heart at Kenwood, Albany, New York, in 1898. Her death came as she had deserved, desired, prayed—in the full possession of her heart and mind, after having devoted herself literally to the last hour to the education of American women.

"Manhattanville College is under the direction of the Religious of the Sacred Heart. Founded as an academy in 1841, it was transferred to the present site, on a once secluded hill, in 1847. The prospering institution received a college charter in 1919, and has today an enrollment of 400 in the arts curriculum. The aim of Manhattanville College has been from its foundation to give an education in the Liberal Arts in the strong tradition of true Catholic culture." These words, from the yearly bulletin of information, describe the educational scene upon which Mother Dammann entered in 1930. Here she fulfilled her mission on earth; the rejuvenation of the age-old system of the Liberal Arts. Looking for fifteen years from her office on the highest hill of Manhattan, upon that wilderness of action, New York City, the strongest expression of the Promethean desires of modern mankind, she developed in herself and in those under her care, through her concept of a new *militia Christi,* the antithetic energies needed to oppose modern error in all its forms. "Having our loins girt about with truth and having on the breast-plate of justice, the shield of faith, the helmet of salvation."

Out of her vision of a *militia Christi* emerged her concept of a new classless aristocracy of heart and mind, a Catholic élite, a Catholic intelligentsia. The ideal of this élite was not an expression of interest in the few, and not an intention to work for the few. The few exist here for the many. The few are the leaven which has to penetrate the whole. It is a primitive Christian belief that the world is conquered by enkindling the fire of faith in these cells of single souls. Mother Dammann's élite is the aristocracy of service, of sacrifice, of self-renunciation. It is fundamentally a democratic idea, a conscious attempt to replace the aristocracy of blood and wealth with an aristocracy of virtue and intelligence. Democracy is in its very nature a philosophical, even theological concept. It is rooted in the Christian awareness of the divine origin and end of mankind, of human destiny in the cosmic order, of human freedom under God, of the brotherhood of men constituted by the image of God in every human soul. By losing belief in its religious roots, democracy eliminates the foundations, which created its essence, from which arises practical efficiency in the political, social, and cultural life of a nation. Goethe said, "Only as long as human beings are religious, are they creative."

The belief in democracy is a belief in intelligence, intelligence as it exists potentially in all social ranks, among all races, among all nationalities. This is the reason why the United States, the foremost country of democracy, must cultivate, and consciously or unconsciously does cultivate, intelligence, more than any other nation. The theory of the divine right of kings is naturally opposed here by the divine right of every human being, endowed by God with the power of reason. The power of reason must become the creative power in the approaching age of the common man. This culture will not exist unless it is founded on a talent for virtue in the intelligent élite of the man of the street. Mother Dammann's vision of recreating the world by the intelligentsia of youth is extremely modern. It is

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contemporary with the closed circle of the ruling élite in the totalitarian states. To thoughtful minds the ideologies of these States are nothing but the perversions of the tragic longing to find a substitute for the lost Christian awareness of the God-bound totality of existence. The waters of the tide try in vain to flow back to their sources. Mother Dammann's vision of this creative youth has the morning breath of the future. It has the Catholic power of universality, but it has at the same time the definite vitality of things grown up in a definite national soil. The trust of pioneers in the efficiency of the young is here modified and strengthened by the restraining forces of tradition. Mother Dammann's ideal is an American concept, but at the present moment it has world-wide significance.

Her presidency coincided with the catastrophe of Western civilization. The rhythm of her speeches, plans and actions answered each wave of terror. Her first call to arms was heard in 1933 in a speech before the alumnae of Manhattanville College, when Hitler, the embodiment of the self-destruction of unrestrained freedom, had appeared as the leader of his great nation to the abyss. "The New Era," we hear her say, "will be a time of constructive upbuilding on the ruins of the mistakes of the past. An upbuilding on the great principles which are our heritage—of a new society, Christian as the world has never yet been Christian, a society formed on the principles of social justice. . . . Your education has fitted you for intellectual activity and you should take the responsibility that such fitness entails. . . . The world around you is looking for solutions and many outside the Church are knowing she alone possesses them."

In the spring of 1938, when Hitler annexed Austria as a first step toward the invasion of the world by the might of his army and the destructive powers of his ideas, when the fury of anti-Semitism began to infest regions outside of Germany, Mother Dammann answered by enrolling, against the protest of a minority, the first colored girl among her students and delivered an electrifying talk to them under the title, "Principles versus Prejudices." With all the vigor of her indignant soul, she challenged them to solve the race problem in the light of Christian principles.

In 1939, when the waves of Hitler's armies reached out and flooded the Western European countries, reaching out to the free waters of the Atlantic and thus already threatening this land of the free, Mother Dammann displayed her vision of the rescue of mankind by Christian education in the most fundamental of her speeches, "Principles and Action in Catholic College Education."

"Great minds," she said, "deal with principles always and are at home with facts only as they

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can be related to principles." As she unwittingly characterized herself in these words better than any one else could do, she characterized her principles and actions in education. "The teacher as an instrumental cause must have not only an intellectual respect for truth, but a passion for it which is communicative, a love, an enthusiasm for it that will arouse in the disciple a similar loyalty through life. In order that the teacher can communicate this he must have a sense of the whole, a grasp of the reality of the supra-sensible, a vitality of intelligence, which enables him to make eternal ideas and principles so living that each student will, as it were, discover them anew himself."

★

Mother Dammann used a three-fold means to influence those about her: personal contact, the widely representative selection of her faculty, the effect of her influence as a philosopher on the life of the college.

If you had climbed the hill of Manhattanville at mid-morning in recent years you would have found Mother Dammann in her office, virtually in the center of the campus. Her "Come In" would welcome you. And you stood there before a rare phenomenon in the modern world; an intellectual with an unjaded mind and an undisturbed peace of soul. She would quickly take in the details of what you said to her, but as quickly she would raise them to a higher, a more universal, plane. The universality of her Catholic nature, the complexity of her reactions made her able to understand at once situations which she can never herself have experienced. She could speak about children like a mother, about marriage like a married person, about financial troubles like a businessman, about love like a young lover. It was this power of human contact, of sheer personality, by which she made herself and her institution a focal point of time and of timelessness. It was this power which enabled her to rule without ever being felt a ruler.

Leaving Mother Dammann's office, you would find yourself in the neighborhood of the classrooms. Perhaps you would find in one a professor of History in the black and white dress of the Religious of the Sacred Heart. In the next you could meet a Spanish woman teaching her native tongue and her native literature. In the third you might encounter an American or a German philosopher lecturing on the "Poetics" of Aristotle, the "Confessions" of St. Augustine or on fundamental ethics. Mother Dammann considered such a "mixed" faculty essential to the organization of a Catholic college.

While most of the Religious finished their studies at Fordham, at Oxford, or in Rome, the lay professors come virtually from all the universities of all the civilized countries. Mother Dammann's Thomistic optimism forced her to use a varied faculty. She colored the spirit of her institution by a deliberate varying of the elements which served to build the whole. If you had "sat in" at a few of the classes to finish off your morning visit, you would soon have become convinced that you were in an integrated organism, unified by the strength of a unified metaphysical outlook on life and thought.

Mother Dammann, herself, did not teach, but she was the intellectual center of her institution. Wherever and whenever she addressed the college she spoke as a philosopher to future philosophers. On such occasions she did not touch on a diversity of topics but insisted on the few which were to her essential. She represented the simplicity which can follow but which can never precede complexity. She represented the power of principles, the freedom of an intellect, freed by being freely bound.

Mother Dammann as a human being, as an educator, cannot be understood without knowledge of the Society which formed her, and to the history of which she essentially contributed. It was founded in France in the year 1800 by Saint Madeleine Sophie Barat, and was brought to America by Blessed Philippine Duchesne in 1818. Mother Dammann represented its aims, its character, its culture, its grace, and its peculiar climate of strong personalities developed rather than crushed by religion.

Her idea of a *militia Christi* is the projection of the inner structure of her Order into the greater freedom of lay life. Her formation, embracing intensely both the world and the cloister, mirrored the styles of her Order which has always sought to illumine the worldly vocation of its educational objects with the religious fervor of the cloister. Manhattanville's mixed faculty reflects the "mixed life" of the Society. Mother Dammann's common sense, her centered balance, correspond to that reverence for personality and proportion natural to an Order founded in France, the land of humanity coupled with exactness, clarity and precision. A feeling for the simple, the normal; distaste for the "too much," first expressed by the Greeks, then revived by Horace, was sanctified by the Church. It appeared again in the Society of the Sacred Heart at a moment in history, when the terminal excesses of the French Revolution seemed to destroy the elements of organic order and of form. A lack of feeling for proportion is a major cause of all sins against the true, the good, the beautiful. Mother Dammann, the philosopher, in her passion for truth appeared as the very embodiment of the sense of proportion in the realm of metaphysics.

In an age of transition, Providence designed the Society to save timeless and classless values

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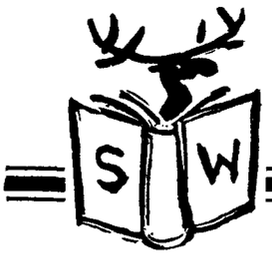

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of the past for future generations. Mother Dammann appeared at a new period of transition. Her interest in every human being, her conscious fight against race and class consciousness, against overestimation of the value of birth, mirrors the timeless estimation of virtue represented in her Order. When she was lying in state in the chapel of Manhattanville there appeared in the twilight of the candles during the Last Office for the Dead many simple men and women, the poor, the forgotten, the neglected. They belonged with the more well-to-do in New York to Mother Dammann's world. They stood near to her heart. Her love made her a part of them, through consciousness of their difficulties, and through her will to help. She had already entered the century of the common man.

There existed an unwritten book in Mother Damman's mind. It would have expressed her theory of education. The significance of religious orders in solving the present problems of education would have been an essential part of it. She was convinced of the present mission of their timelessness. It would have challenged the intellectual narrowness of those who want to reform education by recommending the reading of great books of the past. Not one human being will become good and virtuous by reading good and virtuous books unless his heart is prepared for it. But human dignity represented in dignified human beings will develop potential dignity in young human beings. And gradually dignity of environment will develop the capacity of absorbing and understanding goodness and virtue as it is expressed in works of philosophy, literature, art, music. Goethe considered reverence as the soul and heart of education; somewhere he said: "Piety [in the old Roman sense] is not an end, but the purest means of reaching the highest stage of culture." Religious orders and societies manifest dignity by tradition. In times of spiritual unrest, of destruction, of disintegration, they represent a cool well-spring of spiritual values. By the main content of their life they keep awake the consciousness that culture in all its manifestations is of transcendental origin.

Nietzsche, aware of the approaching catastrophe of Europe, recommended Mexico as the refuge for the European treasures of culture. James Hilton in his "Lost Horizon," in a similar stage of awareness of impending disaster, found the seclusion of high mountains appropriate for this purpose. It is more realistic to employ educational religious orders as a means for the preservation of human dignity. They once preserved the wisdom of the ancients for us, they survived the erring age of Liberalism and they seem today to enter upon a new stage.

Upon this stage, Mother Dammann entered. Through her consciousness of the modernity of the past, through her American sense of looking to the future, she is a figure of transition. The optimism of her nature connects her with what lies ahead. The wisdom of her outlook connects her with the past. She, herself, represents the balance of one rooted in eternity. She challenges all educators who believe in progress without consciousness of aim, in progress without relation to the past, by proclaiming in theory and in practice, that we make progress through tradition.

Workers' Education—1945

The present state of labor schools

Anne Ramsay

"WORKERS' education is a zero with the circle rubbed out," said a labor official recently. But despite the innumerable trials, errors and vicissitudes suffered by workers' education, despite the scoffing of cynics and the extravagant claims of friends, despite the general confusion surrounding the precise meaning of the term, we have some reason to believe that workers' education—or whatever other name you may give to the training of union members and officers—is in for a new lease on life.

Is this apparent revival merely temporary? Will it peter out, like the spurt of interest at the end of the last war? Or is it possible that labor education may at last be given official recognition by organized labor and by a society which recognizes the importance of competent labor leadership? What comes to pass will depend on the general state of our post-war economy, but also on decisions made by official representatives of labor, educational institutions and government.

Because this element of choice is present it is important that the whole subject be carefully examined. Unless some agreement as to general ends can be reached by the major groups concerned, there is little likelihood that workers' education will ever amount to more than a series of more or less local experiments, as in the past.

Social movements rarely develop according to plan. Theoreticians of the labor movement, drawing largely on European experience, have repeatedly been fooled by the

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Considering the magnitude of this educational program it may seem presumptuous to believe that a magazine can aid in its accomplishment, yet many of the nation's foremost educators believe that *The Reader's Digest* occupies an important place in the furtherance of it.

For example, Dr. Rex Putnam, Superintendent of Public Instruction in the State of Oregon, says: "The thesis on which our whole state system of education is based is to inculcate in the minds of our youth the advantages of the democratic processes over all other types of governmental procedures. In this endeavor *The Reader's Digest* is making a contribution to the maintenance of our form of government, especially by implanting in young minds the concepts of desirable human relationships."

"Teachers," writes Dr. Wayne O. Reed, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Lincoln, Nebraska, "have a tremendous responsibility and opportunity for developing a citizenry skilled in the ways of democracy, disposed to live by democratic ideals, and determined that men everywhere shall be free. *The Reader's Digest* is in an especially unique position, because of its wide use in the schools, to play an important part in strengthening the walls of democracy."

These are but two of many similar expressions of opinion from well known educational authorities throughout the country. To the teachers who each day supervise 70,000 of the nation's classrooms *The Reader's Digest,* and its supplementary educational material, including the special 16-page insert of reading and vocabulary exercises, provide a highly useful service in helping them to mould the minds of young Americans for the critical years ahead.

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"perversity" of American labor, which has persisted in going along in its own pragmatic and intuitive fashion (a fashion, be it noted in passing, which has so far, produced pretty good results in terms of the standard of living of the American worker). In workers' education, as in collective bargaining and political action, current American activity bears little resemblance to corresponding European action, or even to the blueprints of workers' education drawn up by its American promoters a few decades ago.

There are today three significant developments. First, there is an increasing demand on the part of the unions for "leadership training"—training in technical, administrative and executive skills. Then there is a marked increase in the number of colleges and universities, including many Catholic institutions, offering various forms of workers' education and training in industrial relations directly to union officers and members. Finally there are increasing signs of recognition on the part of government—federal and state—that the public at large has a vital stake in the education of capable and responsible union leaders.

★

Educational activities financed and conducted by unions themselves are increasingly concerned with questions of administration and with techniques of collective bargaining and political action. This contrasts sharply with the earlier emphasis of workers' education on basic economic analysis of society and general questions of social reform.

The European interest in cultural activities, built around the concept of a specific "workers' culture," is noticeably absent in this country. The major exception has been the needle trades unions, where the European pattern of socialist-conceived workers' education has been most nearly approximated. Yet the more successful the ILGWU and the ACWA have been in raising the standard of living of their members and securing for them accepted status in the general community, the less successful have been the union's own special cultural activities. Once the ILG had proved to Broadway that garment workers could attract a better boxoffice than most professionals, the workers themselves lost interest in labor plays. Why romanticize the sand-lot when you can play in the big league?

A recent survey by the Division of Labor Standards of the Department of Labor, based on union manuals, handbooks and brochures, reveals over 200 titles dealing with collective bargaining and union administration alone, about two-thirds of which were published during the past two years.

Take one small union as an example. The Upholsterers' International (AFL) has only about 50,000 members and therefore a limited amount of money to spend. Chartered by the AFL in 1900, reorganized on an industrial basis in 1937, its educational problems reflect those of both old and new unions. Publications of the Upholsterers' Educational Department include the following:

Financial System of U.I.U. Local Unions
Trade Unions Under War Conditions
Installing U.I.U. Charters
National Labor Relations Board
National War Labor Board
How to Conduct a U.I.U. Local Union Meeting
Construction and Administration of a U.I.U. Local Union
Duties of U.I.U. Shop Delegates and Shop Committees
Preparation and Negotiation of U.I.U. Agreements

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The Work of a U.I.U. Business Agent
The Strike and Strike Tactics
Structure and Administration of The Upholsterers' International Union
History of The Upholsterers' International Union
Duties of U.I.U. Financial Officers
Instructions for U.I.U. Organizers and Representatives
Procedure of a U.I.U. Trial Board
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The foreword to the first of these pamphlets states their purpose and that of the Union's Educational Department in general:

> The Upholsterers' International Union desires that its members take an active and intelligent part in its affairs and activities. But it realizes that to do so a member must understand the structure, policies and philosophies of the Union, and how it operates, as well as its traditions, history and aspirations.
>
> To help its members learn these things about the Union the Educational Department of the Upholsterers' International Union has prepared a number of pamphlets and leaflets outlining briefly and simply several of the chief phases of the activities of the International Union. They include other essential information about the activities of the International and its relation to the labor movement in general.
>
> The administration of a union becomes more and more complicated with the advancement of industry and government. To function effectively in his union, the member must know his particular place in his international union and the trade union movement generally. It is the goal of these pamphlets and leaflets to help him gain this understanding and knowledge.
>
> A union is what its members make it. A well-informed and alert rank and file membership is the best guarantee of an active, militant, honest, progressive and democratic union. For these reasons and so that the membership of today may carry on the traditions of industrial democracy of our International Union, the U.I.U. has created and maintains its Educational Department.

Commenting on the current rash of manuals for union representatives, Chester Wright's *Labor Letter,* a popular "dope-sheet" in the labor relations field, stated recently:

> Manuals we have examined are eye-openers showing an amazing modernization and streamlining of union methods of training union officials and representatives. They instruct in dealings with workers and management and government, how to use facts, employ tactics. Unions have adopted techniques of insurance companies (rate books), sales agencies (organization manuals), and universities (textbooks).

One of the first unions to develop a manual along the technical lines praised by Chester Wright, the AFL Machinists' Lodge 727, which represents the employees of the huge Lockheed-Vega Aircraft Corporation in Burbank, California, describes the development and functions of its manual, which has already gone through two editions, as follows:

> In March, 1942, Aeronautical Mechanics Lodge No. 727 published its first Union Chairman's manual. This manual, . . . was 8½x11 inches in size and contained 102 pages. . . .
>
> What has happened to the Chairman and his manual since 1942? He has read his manual, kept a copy as long as he could, filed his review and grievance material with it, studied it, loaned it out, and turned it in when he left the company for another job or the armed forces. Some copies are still in use, dog-eared and grease-stained, but still

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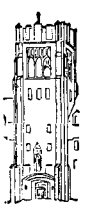

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making trips to the foreman's office whenever the Chairman takes a problem to company supervision. . . .

Much has transpired since March, 1942. Many laws, orders and regulations directly affecting Labor have become effective. Labor itself has relinquished many of its contractual "rights" for the duration of the war. Summarizing, the old 1942 manual did its job well, but Lodge 727's Chairmen were crying for an up-to-date edition.

Therefore, Lodge 727 has issued a new 1944 edition of the Union Chairman's Manual . . . The lessons learned from the first manual have been applied to the new edition . . .

The most important change was to plan the 1944 edition so that it will serve as the basic foundation and text of a Chairman's education program for 1944. Classes of instruction will be held on the entire manual. In addition, each section of the manual will be expanded into a full course of *specialized* instruction. Enrollment in these specialized courses will enable the Chairman to gain complete knowledge of each particular subject. The last section of the manual is devoted to an explanation of the Union Educational Program for 1944.

Education of the Union Chairman is a prime necessity. It is in recognition of this fact that Aeronautical Lodge 727 has established the Educational Department and has supplied it with funds to initiate and carry through this vital work. Lodge 727 feels confident that its efforts in this direction will result in increasing effectiveness of its representation for its membership.

★

A similar specialization in the technical problems of collective bargaining and other activities shows up in the curriculum of the more successful union summer institutes. Thus the Leadership Training Institute, conducted by Joe Kowalski's Educational Department of the Michigan CIO State Council last summer, attended by over 400 local union officers and representatives, was divided into four specialized programs with one entire week devoted to each of the following subjects: collective bargaining and grievance procedure, political action, union counseling on community problems, post-war plans and problems and educational leadership and techniques. The prospectus announcing the Institute described its purpose as follows:

> The labor movement is facing critical years ahead. To survive and to grow in this period we need trained leadership from the top international officers down to the shop committeemen and active rank-and-file.
>
> In this period we need leaders who are experts with a thorough knowledge of their field, together with a basic understanding of where the labor movement and the world is headed. . . .
>
> This institute will not produce "jacks of all trades and masters of none." It has been designed by Union Education Directors who realize the pressing need of specialists in the various fields of Union activity. It will train people to become specialists in collective bargaining, political action, educational techniques, post-war planning and Union counseling, but it will not neglect the over-all picture of trade union activity. Students in each section will not only be given intensive training in the specialized field of their choosing, but will also be given supplementary instruction in all other important phases of unionism.

A contrary picture, of course, emerges in the case of unions which maintain educational departments chiefly for the purpose of public relations. Publications and activities of such organizations are primarily designed to interpret the labor movement to the non-union public. Granted that this is an essential union activity, would it not be better frankly to call such activities "public relations" and

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so help to clear the atmosphere for a precise definition of workers' education?

But more typical is a growing interest in leadership training. Officers of the American Federation of Labor are currently studying the whole problem of training stewards and union officers. Approving the idea of technical training for ranking officials, the AFL has officially endorsed the Harvard Trade Union Fellowship Project, described below.

Assimilation of new members and leadership training were the main topics of the March 10 meeting of CIO educational directors, called by chief CIO educational director Kermit Eby. With an attendance of 35 as compared to 8 last year, enthusiasm was sufficient to prompt a vote to hold quarterly national educational meetings and a number of regional conferences. Similarly, the big and strategic United Steelworkers, which had done little educational work for the past five or six years, is now financing a special study of all workers' education activities in the United States and Canada and has recently started experimenting with various techniques of training stewards in grievance procedure and other basic collective bargaining techniques.

All this reflects the increasing institutionalization of the labor movement. As unions acquire greater power and broader rights, their administrative responsibilities increase in proportion. These administrative problems must be met if unions are to survive as responsible institutions. The growing emphasis on technically trained and competent union officials is thus in line with growing public demand for responsible unionism.

Moreover, education of this type provides a real basis for accepting assistance from universities, government and other non-union sources. As long as workers' education was primarily concerned with economic analysis and basic policies, a large number of trade union leaders saw in it a source of competition to the official labor movement. In this connection we need only recall how the communist Trade Union Educational League grew into the Trade Union Unity League, a source of bitter dual union attacks on the AFL during the depression years.

Trade union leaders believe, rightly, that basic union policy should be formulated only through duly constituted bodies of the union. Workers' education amateurs, who have sought to influence individual workers to follow policies contrary to the official policy of their union, have only succeeded in creating confusion and irresponsibility. If this major barrier between union officers and workers' education can be overcome by putting workers' education into its correct place as an essential but subordinate arm of the trade union, one of the major obstacles to general union acceptance of workers' education may be overcome.

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In addition to giving their students a more realistic picture of what goes on in the world, an increasing number of our colleges and universities are making a real effort to establish direct contact with the world outside the campus. Extension courses, forums, conferences and other extra-curricular activities are carrying university instruction directly into union halls. Or conversely, union members and officers are being brought to the campus for special institutes and projects. In 1942, the Ives Committee found 13 State universities and an even larger number of Catholic institutions conducting some form of workers' education extension service. The number in both

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categories has increased since. In addition, Harvard, Yale, the University of Chicago and other outstanding private institutions are experimenting in this work.

The University of Wisconsin, pioneer in this field, has been operating a resident summer school for workers since 1925, supplemented by year-round extension work in the State's industrial communities. According to Director Ernest Schwarztrauber, much of the success of the Wisconsin school should be credited to the initial cooperation and mutual respect between the university under the leadership of John R. Commons and Selig Perlman of the Economics Department and the Wisconsin Federation of Labor, then headed by Henry Ohl, Jr.

The ability of the Wisconsin Summer School to attract steadily increasing numbers of students while most other resident workers' schools have disappeared or dwindled can be attributed to the directors' determination to keep a close union orientation. Through the technique of the special union institute, the bulk of the costs of the school are borne by the labor movement—a healthy gauge of union interest. All students at the institutes are selected by their union, which pays the fee of $45 per student for the two weeks.

Mr. Schwarztrauber states the function of the Wisconsin School as follows:

> It makes itself available at the point of the worker's most immediate needs—those needs growing specifically out of his rôle in union-management relations. For whether acting in the capacity of a union executive, a shop steward or a rank and file member, he is as effective an industrial citizen as his fund of knowledge, his intelligence and his general training permit. The School implements the worker therefore in his collective relationships with his employer and helps thereby to stabilize industrial relations in his industry and to further the development of industrial government in general.

Outstanding among the Catholic colleges which have gone in for workers' education is Holy Cross at Worcester, Massachusetts, where the Institute of Industrial Relations under the leadership of Father Thomas Shortell, S.J., is now in its second year. Unlike Wisconsin, the Holy Cross Institute is directed to both labor and management, although most classes are held separately. Of the 240 students who attended classes during the 1944 Fall Session, 170 came from labor, 40 from management and 30 from professional groups. Tuition is free.

But like Wisconsin, the Institute's success has been largely due to the close cooperative relationship it has established with the local labor movement—especially the AFL Central Labor Union of Worcester and the CIO Steelworkers—as well as with industrial relations and personnel directors of New England industry. The Spring Bulletin announces a class in Labor Relations, a Seminar on Union Contracts and a discussion group on "practical problems of management and labor."

Early Catholic experiments in this field took place at the parish level. A number of these parish labor schools have grown into coordinated diocesan institutions. In Connecticut, for example, the Diocesan Labor Institute, headed by Father Joseph Donnelly, now includes local chapters in the 10 leading industrial communities of the State. Thirty-one such workers' schools, varying from the parish to the college level, are now listed by the NCWC Social Action Department, which furnishes priests with informational materials.

Most publicized of the university projects and the most

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ambitious experiment in resident schooling for labor is the Harvard Trade Union Fellowship. Under the general direction of Dr. Sumner Slichter of the Harvard School of Business Administration, this project is now in its third year. The first year there were 14 students selected by their unions, the second year six and currently—four. This falling-off is attributed to the war. (The Fellowship Project has so far refused to break with Harvard's all-male tradition.)Administrators of the project do not seem worried about the small number of students. In the words of Dr. John Dunlop, Slichter's assistant, "We're interested only in the 'blue chips.' There's need for labor education at all levels from shop stewards up to international officers. Our job at Harvard is to reach the top people."

"Tops" it is for the students—in workload and in cost! The University grants as a fellowship one-half of the $400 tuition. The Union pays the other $200 plus the student's living expenses for the year which amounts to an investment of around $1,000 per student on the part of his International.

The work schedule of the Trade Union Fellows is considerably heavier than that of the average Harvard student. The four required courses last year were: Economic Analysis, Trade Union Problems and Policy, The Supervisor and Union Labor, Personnel and Management Controls. In addition, there are weekly seminar and dinner discussions on practical problems of trade union policy, often with New England labor leaders as guest speakers. Other War Production Training courses given in the Business School include Production Organization and Engineering.

One word about the course in "Economic Analysis." At first glance the prominent place given to this subject in the Harvard Project may seem to contradict the thesis of this article—the movement of current workers' education away from economic analysis. Examined more closely, however, this course turns out to be a far cry from the basic Marxian critique of society typical of European workers' education. The Harvard course "aims to train students to analyze the economic condition of enterprises and of industries. It centers about the fundamental question: 'How do you determine whether a company or an industry can pay higher wages?'" Thus, it too is a technical course, designed to assist union leaders with collective bargaining problems.

Aimed at a lower level of union leadership and perhaps more significant as a practical scheme for general university-labor cooperation, the University of Michigan is now completing its highly successful first year of workers' education extension classes under the direction of Arthur Elder. Nearly 5,000 workers attended courses this winter, meeting in union halls and community centers in a dozen of the state's leading industrial communities. Classes are designed for workers only, and union officers instruct along with faculty members.

★

Government support for workers' education has been urged by many individuals and by a few unions for many years. Advocates point to the example of the British government, the practice of pre-Hitler Denmark, Sweden and other European social-democratic governments, as well as the precedent of the millions spent annually by the Department of Agriculture Extension Service and the Office of Education's vocational training programs.

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The majority of American unions, however, have never been particularly excited over this idea. In fact, many feared government control of workers' education would prove the first step toward government control of unions. Until very recently, there were only two important experiments in this field. The Wisconsin—State supported—experience has been on the whole successful, as already pointed out, although one wonders if the severe curtailment of the winter extension classes in 1939 was not due, at least in part, to lack of adequate support on the part of organized labor as well as to a change in State administration. At any rate, the summer school pattern, where the unions carry the tuition and living expenses of the students, and the State, through the University, bears administrative and overhead costs, has worked.

The other major experiment, the 1933-42 experience with workers' education under WPA, was handicapped from the beginning by its tie-in with a relief program for unemployed teachers. Whatever positive workers' education did emerge was due chiefly to the selfless devotion of Miss Hilda Smith, former head of the Bryn Mawr Summer School, who was in charge, and her co-workers. In spite of the special difficulties of the WPA set-up, it holds a number of lessons for the future of government in workers' education.

While Miss Smith's own position in regard to non-intervention in union policies and politics was beyond question, the lack of a sufficiently clear-cut tie-in with the official labor movement and the lack of clear-cut agreement on the objectives of workers' education often resulted in indifference or even hostility on the part of many important unions. Under the circumstances, the appeal had to be made to workers as individuals rather than as representatives or officers of their unions. Classes were held for the most part in local schools which again made some union officials feel that workers' education was separating workers from, rather than bringing them closer to, their union.

But perhaps most important of all, the emphasis in classes on basic economic analysis as opposed to technical subjects often resulted in inculcation of labor policies at variance with the official policy of the union to which the student belonged. Needless to say, the fact that the years of the WPA project coincided with the emergence of the CIO and the split in the labor movement enormously increased administrative difficulties. It was almost inevitable under the circumstances that WPA should frequently seem to be siding with the CIO, which at that time had everything to gain and nothing to lose from the stimulation of a generally critical attitude on the part of workers, a fact hardly calculated to increase the confidence of AFL unions.

The opposition to government support of workers' education on the part of anti-union elements in government and society must also be considered. There is reason to believe, however, that such opposition, which has been formidable in the past, can be mitigated if the support of the official labor movement, especially the more conservative unions, can be secured. Even the opponents of labor know what William Green and Philip Murray stand for. They may not like it, but they dislike it a great deal less than they dislike the unknown dangers which the term "workers' education" has often conjured up in the past.

Let the official representatives of organized labor state publicly that they support workers' education as a method of helping union officers and members understand their

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rights and discharge their duties with competence and a sense of responsibility, and many conservative legislators who now see red when they hear the words "workers' education" may be won over.

Positive indication of a developing government attitude toward the training of union representatives is the proposed state-supported School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University. The 1944 New York law by which the school was authorized states its purpose as follows:

> . . . it is necessary that understanding of industrial and labor relations be advanced; that more effective cooperation among employees and employers and more general recognition of their mutual rights, obligations, and duties under the laws pertaining to industrial and labor relations in New York State be achieved; that means for encouraging the growth of mutual respect and greater responsibility on the part of both employers and employees be developed; and that industrial efficiency through the analysis of problems relating to employment be improved.

In order to carry out these purposes, a Board of Trustees, composed of two representatives each of management and labor, the President of Cornell and the New York Commissioner of Education, and the Chairman and Counsel of the Joint Legislative (Ives) Committee, has worked out a program which will include a four-year undergraduate curriculum, short courses and conferences at the university, extension courses in the principal industrial centers of the State, a broad research program and an information service to labor and industrial groups.

The following subjects have been proposed for the four-year course:

Collective Bargaining, Mediation and Arbitration
Social Security and Workmen's Compensation
Personnel Management
Union Organization and Administration
The Labor Movement
Labor Legislation
Corporation Organization and Management
Small Business Organization and Management
Industrial Psychology
Government Regulation of Business

What success the New York School will have with a four-year course for labor officials remains to be seen. Many labor people are skeptical of the practicality of taking union representatives away from their jobs for so long a period. Even Harvard with its "blue chips" theory has planned only in terms of a one-year residence. Nor has the desirability of joint labor-management classes as opposed to classes held separately for each group yet been settled. These questions still require considerable study.

The outstanding fact about the Cornell School, however, is the government's assumption of financial responsibility for the training of competent union executives on the theory that good union leadership is just as important to the State as good industrial management. Furthermore the presence of official union representatives on the Board of Trustees assures the all-important union tie-in.

It is to be hoped that current experiments in many other State universities will develop into full fledged recognition of the State's responsibility to its labor organizations. Governor Warren of California, in his 1945 message to the State Legislature, advocated establishment of a School of Industrial Relations in the University of California. Experience of this type by the States should eventually lead to a practical pattern of working relation-

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ships between government, universities and labor organizations which can then be projected on the Federal level. Wisconsin and New York have been famous in the past as the incubators of progressive labor legislation. Perhaps this will again prove true in the field of workers' education.

Meanwhile, a small group in the US Department of Labor's Division of Labor Standards is working along the lines suggested in this article: trying to develop a sound relationship between government, education and labor, trying to bring workers' education down to earth to meet the actual immediate needs of the unions, trying to help fill the vacuum of available teaching materials especially in the field of collective bargaining, working with all groups in the effort to arrive at some basic common denominator which will enable workers' education to meet the overwhelming need for experienced trade union leadership without in any way trespassing onto the area of union policy making.

Is this compromising with the ideals of earlier advocates of workers' education? Perhaps so in one sense. The essence of democracy is compromise. Those who insist, "My way, or I won't play," usually end by finding that everyone is out of step but Johnny. On the other hand, it is recognition of the fact that workers' education in America will only be effective if and when it becomes a recognized constituent arm of the American Labor Movement. This requires a sense of proportion on the part of its advocates. Workers' education is just one of many activities with which unions are concerned. However, the effectiveness of any movement is usually increased as the area of operation is decreased. Once this official relationship is established, workers' education will have more than its hands full helping to meet the need for trained union representatives and an informed rank and file.

Comparing the poet to the captured albatross, Baudelaire wrote, "Ses ailes de géant l'empêchent de marcher" (His giant wings prevent him from walking). In this pedestrian world "il faut marcher." If workers' education wants to move ahead, it will do well to set aside romantic and extravagant dreams and concentrate on the practical job at hand. On the basis of such a limited program we may hope for a healthy expansion of workers' education, with fruitful cooperation by organized labor, educational leaders and government.

The Stage & Screen

Kiss Them for Me

ADAPTED from a novel I haven't read—"Shore Leave" by Frederic Wakeman—Luther Davis's play was a disappointment. In a pre-production interview given out in *PM,* Mr. Davis outlined a number of the more difficult adjustments to civilian life facing our returned service men and emphasized as perhaps the most difficult the lack of teamwork and division of responsibility to be found in any effort outside the military forces themselves, where each man, so entirely dependent on his fellows, must operate for the good of all and not from any selfish or competitive motive. The interview, a good

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bit more pertinent than this resumé of it, led me to expect something adult of the play, but unfortunately, nothing of such clarity emerged the other evening at the Belasco, and the piece petered slowly away into an exhibition of noisy adolescence. The plot gives us three Pacific airmen on leave in San Francisco, all with an understandably lavish idea of how this leave is to be spent; subsequently tangles them with a number of the Navy's paragraph troopers, public relations officers, hospital officials, *and* civilians of one sex and another; and finally (by weak device), allows them to escape back home: to the war. The chief protagonist—a pilot called "Crewson"—is again that type of redundant hero examined before in this column whose virility is almost wholly dependent upon an articulate egomania, pure Saroyan stuff. Here, the subject is further complicated by the author's having chosen a most obvious pre-as-well-as-post Pearl Harbor Neurotic to lead his little buddies through the fumes of a dingy hilarity. Mr. Davis's play poses a problem which it is neither sufficiently constructed nor sufficiently intelligent to attempt to solve, but I think it does have a certain negative pessimistic value. One feels constrained to believe in his hero—if for no other reason than having watched him walk the boards so often during the past few seasons—and once having accepted him, one wonders what is to become of him and the rest of the world when there may no longer be a war for him to play with. Certainly the prospect of Peter Pan flying a bomber rather than merely a wire, is not, let us hazard, a simple one. Herman Shumlin's casting accomplished a number of discoveries. In the only dimensional part, a prostitute, Judy Holliday seemed to me as appealing as skilled. Another of the talented "Revuers," she has an incredible voice, as big as a minute, which she projects exactly, plus the kind of relaxed sureness which leads an audience to expect something good. And they got it. Dennis King, Jr., in a "Little Boy Blue" rôle, does an equivalent job, and a young actor named Dudley Sadler, playing an invalided Gunner, is worth watching, I think. On the debit side, it is extremely difficult to imagine how Jayne Cotter could ever have been employed as a glamour girl. Finally, the depressing "Crewson" seemed custom-built for Richard Widmark. (*At the Belasco.*)

The Deep Mrs. Sykes

I IMAGINE the theme of George Kelly's latest will be that quote from the play itself which is listed directly underneath his name as author. And since I cannot in the least understand it, it is perhaps safest to repeat it entirely: "—there are egotist women. And they say they're really much deadlier than the male; because their egotism usually passes for mere feminine jealousy." For anyone who can follow the logic of this statement, it is possible that this play, revolving about the fact that someone somewhere—it is impossible to place the action—sent some white lilacs to a lady named Mrs. Taylor and thereby considerably upset a lady named Mrs. Sykes and a dipsomaniac named Mrs. Fentriss, will make sense or theater. For my part, I do not think any play possible which is built entirely of exposition unless it should be

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written by a Pirandello and projected as an exercise in esthetics. As there are here some fourteen different characters, it follows that whatever infinitesimal circumstance transpires on the stage must be learned fourteen different times by the house. Fourteen different times we were made acquainted with the botanical intrigue, fourteen different times with the certain knowledge that so-and-so drinks, fourteen different times with the astounding news that Mr. Taylor was taking Mrs. Taylor to live in New York, and (the nadir) fourteen different times with the fact that Sibelius was about to be, was being, and had been played, in the den. The latter information delivered, of course, while the music was banging in our ears. I should call the process, Death By Slow Rote—but must record that the lady behind me found it "very relaxing and fine . . ." although the lady in front complained loudly that "there was nothing in which to get your teeth into." (*At the Booth.*)

The Firebrand of Florence

OUT OF a cast of twenty-six principals, thirty-six supers, intricately dressed in hundreds of confusing Raoul Pene DuBois costumes, and traveling some eight or nine architecture sets by Jo Mielziner to twenty-odd numbers by Kurt Weill and Ira Gershwin dealing with the adventures of Cellini in "Old Flawrance," I very much liked a small colored boy named Billy Williams whose whole business consisted of one intermittently chanted line striking, certainly, the only note of style in the most boringly billion evening I have lately endured. (*At the Alvin.*)

KAPPO PHELAN.

Man's Reach

THE THEME of *"The Corn Is Green"* moved me so greatly that I find myself quite incapable of judging the film as a film or as entertainment. No doubt the casual moviegoer, or that large group of fans who swoon at the very sight of Bogart, Ladd or Sinatra, will consider this pretty colorless cinema. But anyone interested in education or even the potentialities of awakening in the unlettered a desire for the pursuit of knowledge will find this movie more exciting than the toughest "Western" or creepiest "mystery."

To a remote corner of Wales in the 1890's comes Miss Moffat. No longer young but still greatly enthusiastic, this spinster is shocked at the poverty and lack of education in this small village of miners. Equally surprised, however, are the villagers at this "female M.A." who does not believe that a woman's only future is marriage and who starts a school in her own living room. A local man and woman agree to help. Miss Moffat, though determined to be as stubborn as the Welsh, is surrounded by obstacles: the apathy of the villagers, the uncouth pranks of grimy lads from the mine, and worst of all—the opposition from the pig-headed, self-centered "squire bountiful" who is largely responsible for the village's misery. Just when Miss Moffat is most discouraged and at the point of giving up, she finds a student whose mind is like a diamond among the coal dust. "And when I walk in the dark, I can touch with my hand where the corn is green,"

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this young miner has written in his composition exercise. Miss Moffat knows that she has in Morgan Evans one who is worth fighting for.

The film's simple story is concerned mainly with Moffat's struggle to make a man and scholar out of Morgan. Her methods are not always as honorable as her intentions. Furthermore, in her zeal, she almost makes him an inhuman sponge for knowledge. Too late she realizes her merciless driving has thrust him into the eager arms of the slut who offers him the kind of love, warmth and understanding not found in books and schoolroom.

It is interesting to see how Director Irving Rapper has injected cinema values into this film which is composed principally of ideas and characterization. The picture is frequently talky and static, but at the same time the camera is allowed to tell the story; and two of the episodes (when Morgan takes his entrance examinations for Oxford, and later when Miss Moffat persuades him not to marry the loose woman who bore his child) are as tense as movies can be. Casey Robinson and Frank Cavett who wrote the script from Emlyn Williams's play deserve much of the credit. And so do the good cast assembled by Producer Jack Chertok. Bette Davis is splendid as the persevering teacher who loses herself in molding a scholar. Miss Davis, who never objects to discarding glamor for art, does not rely on trick makeup this time. She plays Moffat as a woman of strong, almost fanatical purpose. The wrinkles around her eyes indicate hard scheming and imagination as well as age. By the film's end more wrinkles are apparent. Once having met success, in spite of coming close to failure, she will go on and light more lights for other miners to see their way out of ignorance. It is not Miss Davis's fault, however, that the rôle goes berserk at times. At one point, the frenetic Miss Moffat, fearful of losing all she has built up, even persuades Morgan that he has no duty toward his illegitimate child. The teacher's pragmatism can hardly be condoned—even in spite of the amends she tries to make later.

John Dall, a comparative newcomer, is exceedingly fine as the young miner who wins Miss Moffat's interest. He is particularly successful in portraying the changes in Morgan from boy to man as he goes through periods of submission, anger, rebellion, dogged determination and finally arrives as the glowing example of one who gives promise of leading others out of darkness. The supporting cast, including Nigel Bruce as the obtuse squire, Mildred Dunnock and Rhys Williams as Miss Moffat's hard-working assistants, Joan Lorring as the girl who almost ruins Miss Moffat's plans, the excellent chorus who sing Welsh songs, all contribute to this unusual film. I do not agree with those critics who prefer the theater's version of Emlyn Williams's play mainly because of Ethel Barrymore's performance. The movie has wider scope and succeeds in making the miners themselves as important as Miss Moffat's personal campaign against illiteracy. "The Corn Is Green" probably won't make motion picture history as an example of outstanding cinema, but it does provide an interesting aside on a stimulating subject.

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ATHENS had its slaves and New England had its outcasts, but on those two spots of earth, so widely disparate in space and time, democracy is said to have flowered in its purest form. Clarence Webster would appear to be desirous of circumscribing the New England side of it as much as possible for he confines his "Town Meeting Country" to Rhode Island, eastern Connecticut and a narrow slice of southern Massachusetts. There are unquestionably other areas in the New England states which can lay a comparable claim to the title of Mr. Webster's excellent book. The white church spires, town greens and historic local meeting houses which give New England villages their unparalleled charm can be found over a much wider range of miles.

The book gains considerably, however, from being a more intensive study of a smaller area. In its heyday the towns involved compromised a Congregationalist theocracy, with education and municipal government the handmaidens of the common cult. Then came expansion for the sake of gold; new industries grew up, traders sailed forth to the far sectors of the globe, the Yankee peddler with his pack became a national byword. As religious faith grew weaker and ardor dampened the Yankees lost their fire and by 1880 life had settled into a golden haze. Existence was pleasant; it was secure but unexciting. Comforts were of the bourgeois sort. Bright spots included the arrival of the grocer's "order cart," the weekly trip to town, the county fair. One of the most delightful institutions was that of the hired man, a type who has long since faded out.

Today there are new concerns. Much of the old stock is dying out or becoming one with the subnormal families who for generations have lived in decadence outside the village limits. Even railroad street in town has now lost its alcoholic charms. Farms have consolidated or been sold to Polish families, or city folk who simply "don't belong." The movies and the radio are taking their toll, even if some people still manifest enough interest to turn out for Grange meetings. Some descendants of the men who built up the country have sold their farms and gone into the mills, much to their own undoing. But town meetings and town officials are still important. Nowhere else in this country do people seem to be so spruce and so up and doing and yet willing to pass the time of day. The New England village green is as much a current symbol as it is a memento of a past which was really great.

Pas de Deux

IT IS possible that one can go through life enjoying a limitless series of varied emotions as one stands before a statue, walks through a picture gallery, sits at the opera, at the play, at the concert, and, in any position, allows the written words of prose or verse to become perceptible to the intelligence. A dream life reaction to the arts is possible; uncritical, uninformed, one may enter the arts as into the sea. Then there is the deluge of

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sound from the orchestra pit, the murmur of words from all the books, the variations of light and line and form, and it is like when the clouds pass above the sea and the color changes. But it is not possible that such passive enjoyment of art can ever be the highest enjoyment, for man is meant to understand what gives him pleasure.

The best way to understand any art is to attempt it. But even the prince, who is taught all things, grows up so rapidly and has to govern so soon. . . . That is why one has to read the books.

Particularly if one goes to the ballet, because if it is true that everyone is certain that he can paint better than the painter, he is not as assured that he will look the air midway through a *grand jeté en tournant*. We know—at least past forty—that there are limitations. The ballet, therefore, which is becoming so popular, remains an art we know is not for us. All the other arts also are not for us unless we know something about them but we think we know something about them. We have not this illusion concerning ballet. But we are not at all disturbed, for ballet is a form so obviously beautiful that we feel we need only enjoy these bright creatures whose motion and grace are as we move in our happier dreams.

Yet this is a most disciplined art, an ancient art, which has come rather suddenly to America. There exists an entire literature about it, a technical literature, and also, of course, one cannot think of it without having so much of the past come to the mind accompanying it. The Italians and the theaters in which they danced (Stendhal at the Scala) and then they came to Paris; the Russians of course and then Pavlowa here in America; Covent Garden and then the extraordinary year when Diaghilew was at the Chatelet in Paris; Stravinsky. The associations of the eighteenth century and the nineteenth, and ballet for a long time seemed only to survive a world which the two wars have destroyed. It is a survival, but as all art is a survival; it was never the prisoner of the associations which surround it.

Americans now are writing for the ballet; Americans are dancing in the ballet; Americans are supporting the ballet. The ballet will create its own American associations and there will be American ballets danced in Paris, in Moscow. That is why it is extremely useful to know something about its permanent and classical structure. "The Ballet-Lover's Pocket-Book" contains numerous sketches of dancers performing the fundamental steps and a concise text explaining the sketches. It is delightful and useful.

CONTRIBUTORS

Tyler DENNETT has taught at Johns Hopkins, Columbia and Princeton; between 1924 and 1929 he was chief of the Division of Publications and editor of the Department of State; between 1934 and 1937 he was president of Williams College. Among his books are "The Democratic Movement in Asia," "Americans in Eastern Asia," "Roosevelt and the Russo-Japanese War," "Biography of John Hay" and "Lincoln and the Civil War—Hay Diaries." He at present makes his home in upstate New York.

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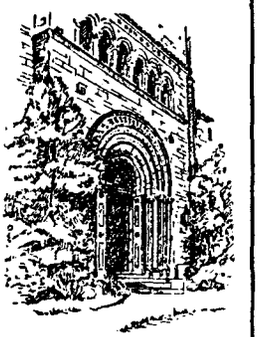

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